2: Hudson
61, 178

RQ2 Kazak RQ2

/For a discussion of the processes of fusion, fission and feudalisation which have operated in the development of all Turco-Mongol social groupings, see category 116, pp. 98-105. --Analyst/

2: Hudson
61

RQ2 Kazak RQ2--2

Law and trial procedure - pp. 67-69
Customary hospitality - pp. 72-73
Fraternization or sworn brotherhood - pp. 73

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

NATURE OF KAZAK SOCIAL GROUPS

Nearly all ethnographic accounts which touch upon the social organization of the Kazak describe them as divided into a number of tribes which are subdivided into sub-tribes or gentes and these again further divided into yet smaller groups.[1] How far this process of subdividing may extend is indicated by Rudenko's study of the Naiman group of Kazak in the foothills of the Altai in which he lists 760 named groups extending, in some cases, through a series of 17 strata of subdivisions.[2]

As a first step in analyzing Kazak social structure it is necessary to consider the nature of the named groups, their relation to one another and the significance of the several orders, or magnitudes, of subdivisions. In such a consideration the problem of terminology immediately intrudes. Any discussion of the subdivisions would seem to involve the application of type names to the various strata and the possibilities are soon exhausted.

In this difficulty recourse might be had to employing the native terminology. In attempting to do so, however, it becomes apparent that many Kazak, and all of those with whom I worked, had but one inclusive term or variations of one term for all the magnitudes of social groupings usually described in the literature as tribes, sub-tribes, gentes and their branches. This term was given by Tlenshiev in Kazak as urƀv. Asfendiarov[3] in Russian writes uru and a few lines later both uru and uruk. Begaliev and Gavrilov do not give urƀv but define ruv[4] as Russian "rod"—race, family, clan, generation; or "plemia"—tribe, race, family. The form urƀq they translate[5] as "family, posterity." Vladimirtsov[6] defines urux or urug in Mongol as "descendant, offshoot of a given gens." In Yakut, according to Seroshevskiĭ,[7] uru means "relationship in general."

My informants agreed that this word or a cognate is the term which is applied in Kazak to all types of social groupings usually understood as tribes, gentes and their subdivisions. Tlenshiev understood the use of the Russian plemia (tribe) as referring to a more inclusive group than rod (gens) but said there were no such distinctions in Kazak. The absence of such terms is confirmed by Asfendiarov who writes:[8]

It is curious that among the Kazak there is only the single indefinite term uru which signifies

[1] See, among others, Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 304; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 514; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 144; Samoĭlovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 162; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

[2] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, table facing page 334.

[3] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 100.

[4] *Kazaksko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 202.

[5] *Idem*, 252.

[6] *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 59.

[7] Seroshevskiĭ, *IAkuty*, 507.

[8] *Idem*, 100.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

61 tribe and sub-tribe, gens and sub-gens . . . . Among the Mongols of the period of Chingis Khan the tribe was designated as irgen, the gens obox and relatives by the word uruk. But among the Kazaks is preserved only the extremely indefinite term uru.

Samoilovich likewise states:[9]

> According to Chopaev [his informant] there are no strictly distinct terms in Kazak corresponding to our tribe, clan, generation, etc. One and the same term is applied in different senses. European tribal terminology applied to Kazak is arbitrary and misleading.

It is, however, not unlikely that some Kazak groups had more precise terms to designate the various magnitudes of social groupings. Rudenko, in a very confused statement, says:[10]

> The sub-group sök is defined by blood relationship as far as seven ancestors. The gens, ruu, is divided into a series of lines, byr top . . . . Furthermore, sub-groups are indicated by the name of an ancestor and finally divided into sök.

[104] One fact at least is clear from this: the Kazak of the Naiman, Karatai and Karakerei groups with whom Rudenko worked in the region of the Altai had in addition to uru or ruu at least two other words, sök and byr top to designate social groupings based apparently on blood relationship. The occurrence of the word sök in this sense among the Altaian Kazak however is suggestive of influence from other Altaian groups because Potanin reports[11] that the gens among the Altaian Tartars was known as sök. The word is also found in Kazak, as in other Turkic dialects[12] in its primary meaning of "bone" and in Kazak occurs frequently as aq syjek (White Bone) and kara syjek (Black Bone) referring to the nobility and common people respectively. Insofar as the nobility, who were all in theory descended from Chingis Khan, may be considered as forming in themselves a gens, the term syjek might be applied in the sense in which it is used by the Altaians, but such usage was not customary among the Kazak with whom I was acquainted.

The words byr top mentioned by Rudenko mean literally "one group," "one crowd," which might well be used to designate sub-divisions of a gens as he indicates, but I know of no further examples of this except perhaps one parenthetical remark by Grodekov[13] in which he says: "They migrate in groups (tap-tap) of a greater or less number of kibitkas [the felt tent of the nomads]."[14]

Czaplicka, after studying the Russian literature relating to all the Turkic groups of

[9] *Zapretnye Slova*, 16a, note 6.

[10] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59–60.

[11] Potanin, *Ocherki Severo-zapadnoi Mongolii*, 4: 1–2, as cited by Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 54. I have been unable to obtain Potanin's work.

[12] Radlov, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches*, 4: 571.

[13] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 109–10.

[14] In many accounts the felt tents are called "yurts." I have avoided this use of the word because in some places it meant not the dwelling but the land occupied by a group. (See page 81.)

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Central Asia, emerged with very unsettled notions of the nature of their gens and tribal system and its divisions. She writes without apparent conviction:[15]

> It is very difficult to define what should be called a clan among the Turks of Central Asia. There seems to be a conception of a political group called, among both the Kirghiz and Kazak *uruk* or *ru* . . . possibly a confederation of such clans was once called *el*, while a group of families affiliated by blood is called by the Kazak *taypas* or *tayfa*. . . . An amalgamation of several sub-clans forms a sök (clan).

Here Czaplicka seems to have run afoul of the terminology problem as she designates both the ru and the sök as "clans" but does not connect them. One may sympathize with her difficulty but need not linger over the terms which have already been touched upon. As for the other two, el now occurs in Kazak meaning, according to Begaliev and Gavrilov,[16] "people, population, country, native place, country in distinction to city," but in Turkish of the eighth century, on the basis of the Orkhon inscriptions, apparently meant a "tribal union"[17] in general agreement with Czaplicka's information.

The word tajpa is defined[18] as "group, mass," or as an adjective "compact." The form tayfa would not occur, in Kazak proper at least, where the sound "f" is lacking. I have not found this word used among the Kazak with the meaning which Czaplicka imputes to it and she does not state her source. According to Vambéry[19] the term is used by the Turcoman for a division of a tribe.

The question of the presence or absence among the Kazak of distinct terms applied to various strata in the series of group divisions and subdivisions is not, however, of primary importance to an understanding of the nature and function of the groupings. This may be gained as well with one term as several. For purposes of discussion I shall ignore the possibility or probability of other terms being used in various localities and accept the statement of my informants that only one such term was used by the Kazak to cover all the divisions usually considered as tribes, gentes and their subdivisions. For this term I shall use the word uru as written by Asfendiarov[20] which closely approximates the form used by the informants. It may be defined as meaning a group of kinsmen related through the male line, but varying in its application from a comparatively small one of close relatives to a very large one of many thousand who may actually be related only very distantly or by courtesy of tradition.

This concept of the uru may be illustrated by the traditional account of the structure of the Great Orda as given by the informant Kargabaiev to illustrate his own position in

[15] Czaplicka, *The Turks of Central Asia*, 40.

[16] *Kazaksko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 106.

[17] Bernshtam, *Rodovaia Struktura*, 563–66. See also Koz'min, *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 55.

[18] Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazaksko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 225.

[19] *Travels in Central Asia*, 348.

[20] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 100.

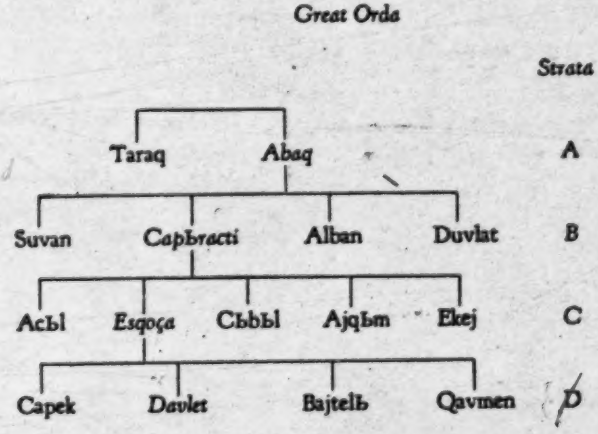
2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

61 Kazak social structure. Kargabaiev did not know the names of all the subdivisions of the Great Orda but only those of the major groupings and of the groups relatively closely related to his own. Even so his account involves some fifty named groups, most of which for the sake of simplicity may be omitted here.

61 173 The traditional founder of the Great Orda had two sons, Taraq and Abaq, each of whom became the founder and progenitor of an uru which bears his name and which genealogically comprises all his descendants through the male line. These two uru may be considered genealogically as the major divisions of the Great Orda and might perhaps be referred to as "tribes" provided the word is used only in a restricted genealogical sense and not taken to imply any kind of functional, political or geographical unity. In order to avoid for the moment the use of such terms I shall only describe the two uru founded by Taraq and Abaq as forming an A-stratum, genealogically speaking, of Kazak society.

Both Taraq and Abaq, according to the legendary account, had in their turn four sons apiece, each of whom became the founder and progenitor of an uru bearing his name, and these eight uru may be considered as forming a genealogical B-stratum in the Great Orda. Similarly from each uru of the B-stratum branched out a number of uru forming altogether a C-stratum and from these in turn a D-stratum, each stratum containing a larger number of uru than the one preceding it.

This process may be indicated more simply by means of a diagram illustrating the relation of Kargabaiev's group to others. From the diagram I have omitted all uru not related directly to the informant's.



Kargabaiev belongs to the Davlet uru which is descended from Esqoça which claims descent from Capbracti, one of the four sons of Abaq.

It is necessary to distinguish clearly between this diagram as representing a traditional genealogy and as representing the relationships of actual groups. Considered as a genealogy the original Davlet, the founder of the uru of that name, was the son of Esqoça who was the son of Capьracti and the grandson of Abaq. This is the way in which Kargabaiev interprets it. This allows four generations for the development of all the groups to a condition which they have maintained ever since. The younger and more sophisticated Kazak consider such genealogies as legends which give a more or less theoretical account of group origins.

It should be observed here that the traditional accounts and the names of eponymous ancestors vary widely from one Kazak group to another,[21] although the general pattern is always the same. This condition would naturally result from the heterogeneous historical origin of the Kazak and has no doubt been favored by the wide extent of their territory. It is likely that a particular group in the course of becoming identified with the Kazak would preserve their own already existing tribal genealogies and merely extend them to include other Kazak. As a result, although all Kazak consider themselves descended from one ancestor, the name of that ancestor varies from one group to another.

The common pattern of the genealogies, however, provides a convenient starting point for an examination of the relations between the several groups and strata.

At first glance it would appear that an uru of the B-stratum, for instance, would not actually exist except as the sum of its component parts, that is, the uru of the C-stratum which have branched off from it. The diagram suggests for example that the Capьracti group in the B-stratum consists of its subdivisions (Acьl, Esqoça, Cьbьl, Ajqьm, and Ekej) in the C-stratum and has no actual existence as a group in itself apart from them. Such, however, is not the case. A B-stratum uru should rather be considered as a parent group which produces offshoots forming the C-stratum but continues as a social unit in itself after the birth of its offshoots. Thus a man may belong to a B-stratum uru without belonging to any C-stratum group.

Further, the uru of the C-stratum can be considered as subdivisions of the B-stratum uru only in a genealogical sense. Actually they were independent groups with their own leaders and own areas of migration, sometimes far removed from those of the parent uru. They might in many cases be larger and more powerful than the parent uru against which they would wage war as enthusiastically as against some quite unrelated group.

This condition may be explained by examining the process of formation and development of new groups. It is obvious of course that a new uru did not arise with every fresh generation. According to Tlenshiev what usually happened when a man's sons came of age was that he provided them with their own kibitkas and a share of his own cattle. They customarily placed their kibitkas side by side with his and continued to graze their cattle along with those of their father. During the course of generations, however, the economic pressure of inadequate grazing lands for an increasingly large group sometimes induced an

[21] Kharuzin, *Kirgizy Bukeevskoĭ Ordy*, 26.

61 enterprising son of some important family to strike out for himself with his herds, his dependents and other bold or dissatisfied individuals who wished to follow him. This seceding group came in the course of time to consider itself a separate and independent uru, known by the name of its founder although still tracing its descent from the parent group. In the beginning relations between such senior and junior groups might have been very close but eventually the self interests of the two groups, and particularly the conflicting ambitions of rival leaders outweighed any claims of kinship.

It now becomes apparent that the term uru may be considered from two points of view: first in a functional sense as applied to one group fairly closely related, living together as an economic and political unit under their own leader; the second, in a purely genealogical sense as applied to any number of groups claiming descent from a common ancestor however remote. Thus in the latter usage of the word all the groups in the D-stratum of our diagram, namely Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen may be considered as one uru by reason of their common descent from Esqoça in contrast to some other group of D-stratum uru descended, for example, from Ekej. Or again all the many independent and frequently hostile groups claiming descent from Abaq can be regarded as one uru in contrast to any group descended from Taraq. But in the sense of functioning economic or political units all the uru of every stratum were separate, equal, and independent groups.

The error of regarding a number of D-stratum uru, for example, as merely branches or subdivisions of the parental C-stratum uru is illustrated in the use of the urans. These were the war cries of uru groups in battle, used also to encourage the champions representing them in horse races and games. If members of the D-stratum uru Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen were at the same time considered members of Esqoça from which they had branched off, they should be entitled to use the Esqoça uran. But this very definitely was not the case. Kargabaiev not only would never think of using the Esqoça uran but could not think of himself as in any way entitled to so do. A member of Davlet definitely did not regard himself as also a member of Esqoça. He only traced his descent from that group. His ability and privilege to do so, however, were of considerable importance. A knowledge of the place of one's own group in the genealogical structure of the whole orda was essential when meeting strangers or for the proper observance of seniority at various social occasions.

[576] When meeting anyone the first question was always "What is your uru?" and in reply one gave the name of the last and smallest subdivision which one thought would be familiar to the questioner. If it were unknown to him it would indicate that he was probably from a rather distant group and one would try again with the name of a more inclusive group of a higher stratum. If the encounter was with one of a fairly close group familiar with the name of the immediate uru it would be necessary only to give the names of one's immediate ancestors.

574 Hospitality was, to some extent at least, regulated by the seniority of the groups; thus
61 at feasts and general gatherings representatives of several groups who were present were

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 21-22 -- Analyst]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 BQ2 Kazak BQ3

allotted places of honor according to the seniority of the guest's uru.[22] According to Grodekov also a guest was treated well or ill according to his knowledge of the tribal gradations.[23] This perhaps may be related to the fact which he mentions elsewhere[24] that it was only the upper classes who knew the ramifications of the numerous groups while the knowledge of the common people was restricted to the genealogies of their immediate ancestors. From this it would follow that a guest well versed in genealogy was of the upper class and entitled to respect.

Grodekov also states[25] that there was an order of precedence running through all three ordas with the youngest uru of the Great Orda having seniority over the senior uru of the Middle Orda and so down to the last group of the Little Orda. This was vigorously denied by my informants, who said that the Great Orda possibly may have thought so but certainly no one else did. Kuftin[26] also speaks of the principle of seniority running through the ordas but his wording reads almost like a paraphrase of Grodekov from whom he may have taken the statement. Tlenshiev said there may have been such a system of precedence but it would be based not on seniority but on strength and importance at any given time because no one knew which of the ordas was supposed to be the oldest.

One may summarize the basis of Kazak social structure by saying that it consisted of a large number of separate groups each claiming descent from it's founder and bearing his name. These groups considered themselves as related to, but independent of, other groups from which their ancestor had come.

The nature of these groups can best be clarified by considering their functional aspects which I shall first do in relation to economic life.

[22] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 7–8.
[23] *Idem*, 27.
[24] *Idem*, 12.
[25] *Idem*, 7–8.
[26] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 9.

KAZAK SOCIAL GROUPS IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC LIFE

NOMADIC UNITS

621 In considering the economic aspects of the uru group as a functioning unit we encounter a new term, aul. Roughly it is possible to say that the aul was co-extensive with the uru in the sense of a group living together. One of my informants in the initial stages of a discussion of this point said "the aul is an uru and the uru is an aul." This, however, was no doubt an oversimplification for the benefit of the ignorant but curious ethnologist, because further [61] inquiry reveals one fundamental distinction. The members of an uru were all blood relatives in the male line, or assumed to be such, while an aul might contain various individuals from outside the blood group. A man might change his aul simply by going to live in another, but could not change his uru. In the old days, according to Kargabaiev, they corresponded closely because then it was very unusual to go and live among strangers. In any case it appears that a majority of the members of an aul would be members of the same uru.

The aul may be defined as a "mobile village"[1] or nomadic encampment. Here again, however, the problem of subdivisions appears because the term aul is applied by different writers to groups of differing magnitudes. As will be explained in more detail later, it was customary for the uru group and its alien associate members who passed the winter living as a compact unit to split up with the coming of spring into smaller groups for the pasturage of their herds. These smaller groups consisted of perhaps half a dozen kibitkas, usually belonging to one family, while half a mile or a mile away would be another such group of kibitkas, with numerous other similar clusters of habitations scattered over the whole area customarily occupied by the uru group. The point at issue is whether the single clusters may be called auls or whether all the diffused and scattered camps taken as a whole constituted an aul.

My informants used the word in the latter sense. According to Tlenshiev the small group of five to ten kibitkas would not be an aul but an yj (family or house). An aul would normally consist of several hundred kibitkas. This is also the sense in which Kargabaiev used the word. His aul was named Karastaq ("black place," i.e., where the snow never lies) and comprised about 500 kibitkas and approximately 3,000 people. It is interesting to note here that the name of his aul was not the same as that of his uru, Davlet. Usually, however, the two seem to have been the same, the aul taking on the name of the uru to which the majority of its members belonged, which was, as explained above, the personal name of its traditional founder. In this case, however, Karastaq is a place name which had been adopted by the aul.

According to Grodekov the average aul comprised about 300 kibitkas but the number

[1] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 312.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

THE FAMILY

In discussing the nature of the Kazak uru it was noted that genealogically speaking Kazak society consisted of a series of blood related groups divided and subdivided into units of more and more closely related individuals. These units were all called uru. It becomes of interest to consider how small a group, for genealogical purposes, may be considered to form an uru. My informants were unable to decide for some time whether, for example, a man and his immediate family could be described as an uru. Such a usage of the term, it developed, would certainly not be common although in theory it might be permissable. It would require all the descendants of a man for several generations, said Tlenshiev—just how many he did not know, perhaps five or six—to form an uru, which would comprise a hundred houses or more. The basic uru would consist of the blood members of the group customarily occupying common winter quarters which broke up for the summer migrations into a series of family groups.

The individual family was known as yj, meaning literally "house." The members of the family, the inhabitants of the "house," would normally be a man, his wife or perhaps wives, and minor children. As his sons came of age and married they would be provided with kibitkas adjacent to their father's;[1] then the father's kibitka became known as the ylken yj, (senior or great house) and the son's kibitka as otav (junior or small house). Originally, according to Kuftin,[2] otav meant "without fire."[3] Thus there might be four or five otav around the senior kibitka. The youngest son would continue to live in the senior house which he inherited at the death of his father.

Such was the normal, or more accurately, idealized arrangement. Actually many families were not able to afford such extensive premises and several sons with their wives might continue to occupy the father's house. If three generations lived in one kibitka the grandfather and his wife slept on the left, son and son's wife on the right with grandchildren, guests and all others in the middle. If a son and his wife were living in the kibitka, especially a newly married son, his section might be separated by a curtain, not apparently for the observance of any avoidance custom but merely for the sake of privacy.[4] The left hand side of the kibitka as one entered was considered the most honorable and was reserved for the master of the house. As far as I could learn this principle was not extended to the winter dwelling; there the head of the household took what he considered the warmest and most comfortable place, the others making out as best they could.

[1] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 18–19.

[2] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 34.

[3] In connection with the family fire compare the quotation from Potanov on pages 77–78.

[4] See also Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 70.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

61 62 1 The main aspects of relations between the various local groups have been considered in the previous section. Here we may mention certain cultural patterns which influenced the relations of individual members of one group with those of another.

It has been noted above in discussing the nature of social groups that an uru of more or less close blood relatives in the male line usually had living and migrating with them members of other blood groups. It is pertinent to consider their status more closely.

My informants said that if a man did not like his own uru he might go and live with another. This they seemed to think was true in more recent times but would not have been so "originally." However, even though he went to live with another group and joined their community, he would still be considered as belonging to the group into which he was born. He might then marry a girl of the uru among whom he was living but could not take a wife from the group to which he belonged by birth. Grodekov[1] expresses this by saying: "Transference from one tribe to another is not possible but living and migrating among a foreign tribe is permissable." Rudenko[2] observes that an immigrant to an alien group may be entitled to call himself by their name even though not related to them by blood, thus: "Kazaks coming from another tribe do not lose their tribal origin. For example an Argyn . . . who has joined the Karatai gens bears the name of Karatai but may nevertheless marry any Karatai girl."

I was not able to find any instances illustrating the uru affiliation of the children of such marriages. Tlenshiev said that technically they would be considered as belonging to their father's original group and a son would be permitted to marry into the uru among which he was born. But after a few generations "people would become confused" and the descendants of the original immigrant might come to be considered blood members of the group among which they were living.

[463] Several categories may be distinguished among those residing in the group who were not its blood members in the male line. The most numerous appear to have been composed of hired workers, servants and artisans. These were the people who, having little or no property of their own and no strong patron to support them, were obliged to make a precarious living by selling their services to others. They tended to become semi-permanently attached to the group, though sometimes they went off to seek employment elsewhere. The artisans, chiefly carpenters and blacksmiths, were rather more independent than the unskilled hired herdsmen, since their knowledge of a trade assured them of being able to make their way wherever they went. In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group of

[1] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 27.
[2] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59-60.

In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group[161][621]
permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her.[567]

In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them.[2] They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line.[4][233]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov[4] writes:[855]

> Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chumble, and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhappac, he is called among them Dzhappac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

> If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it.[597]

A wife's kinsmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. Grodekov says[5] that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinsmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her.[606]

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans.[701]

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

[2] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 15.
[4] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[6] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 35.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

61 various local groups. Transients of course were numerous. Levshin[7] mentions that in some
621 places a fiancé who had paid the first part of the kalym might pitch his kibitka in the camp of his betrothed and live there until the transaction had been completed and he was able to take her home. Since the payments might sometimes be extended over a period of several years the prospective bridegroom perhaps became a fixture about the camp.

In addition there were large numbers of itinerant visitors, travelers, merchants, and wandering mullahs. Beggars formed a large group to whom it was considered meritorious to make gifts.[8]

All these alien elements went far to increase the complexity of social groupings and to obscure the sharp demarcation between uru groups.

HOSPITALITY

609 The custom of hospitality (qonaqaçlь) to strangers may be noted in its connection with
574 inter-group relations.

In principle any passing traveler was entitled to stop at any man's kibitka and remain indefinitely. One of my informants said: "He doesn't have to pay and can stay as long as he likes; the owner of the house will never tell him to go." The host was responsible for the welfare of his guest and might be obliged to pay damages equivalent to those for murder for any stranger who succumbed to starvation or exhaustion even in the vicinity of the camp.[9]

Apparently such open hospitality was liable to prove a burden because Grodekov remarks[10] that the Kazak always avoided camping near roads or frequented routes in order to obviate a deluge of ravenous guests and "if it is necessary to camp near a road they conceal themselves behind a hill."

In addition to thus escaping the responsibilities of hospitality, the custom was in practice considerably limited by two factors.

Although in theory anyone, even an enemy, was entitled to hospitality, my informants said that such an instance would never arise. One usually stopped only at places where one had some expectation of finding a welcome.

574 A more important limitation was that in practice hospitality was restricted to members
565 of one's own class. The rich entertained the rich and the poor sought shelter with the poor. The poor man would probably not be turned away from the rich man's door but where the duties of hospitality were ceremonially observed for an important guest by cutting the throat of a sheep, which was afterwards eaten, a humble visitor would receive only milk or tea. The gauging of hospitality by the importance of the guest is mentioned

[7] *Discription des hordes*, 360.

[8] See also Levshin, *op. cit.*, 344; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.

[9] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217–18.

[10] *Kirgizy i Kavkazskiy*, 110.

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SUMMARY

The present evidence indicates that many, or most, Kazak groups used the single term uru to designate the several magnitudes of social groupings usually described as tribes, subtribes, gentes and sub-gentes. This term is applied to a group of kinsmen related through the male line but must be considered from two points of view: first, as establishing points of reference in a genealogical series consisting of any number of groups claiming descent from a common ancestor however remote, and second, as referring to a specific group of comparatively closely related individuals living together as a functioning unit.

In the latter sense the uru corresponds closely to the aul, the basic nomadic and economic group with its own more or less well defined area of migration and an internal organization based on a patriarchal-feudal relationship with marked class distinctions. Such local uru groups also tended to function as exogamous units.

These uru-aul groups were loosely joined into a number of unstable political unions and confederacies, which, however, did not necessarily correspond to the traditional genealogical relations of their constituent units.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 3

SOCIETY

PATTERN OF KAZAKH SOCIETY

61 The traditional social organization of the Kazakhs is founded on a series of genealogies. These genealogies, transmitted orally from father to son, are carefully traced, and mount generation by generation to the founding ancestor of the lineage. In these lineages and throughout Kazakh society, descent is traced only in the male line from a common ancestor. A number of lineages comprise a clan, all of whose members trace descent from a common ancestor. Still wider groups of Kazakhs are embraced by a common descent line into confederations of clans comprising the hordes of the Kazakhs, the Great Horde, the Middle Horde, the Little Horde, and the Inner or Bukei Horde.[1]

611 The kinship bonds of blood and descent extend only to those related on the father's side; kinship through the mother's side is carefully distinguished from it. By far the most important relationships are those with the father's kin, although a certain amount of respect is due to the mother's relatives. The social structure which will now be analyzed is that of the kin related in the paternal line.

619 614 In its purest form, the Kazakh social structure is formed of a series of concentric rings. The largest ring, which encompasses the entire Kazakh people, comprises the system of hordes, which are in turn composed of clans; the hordes are confederations of clans traditionally unified under a leader or khan. In the distant past, all Kazakhs were united in one horde, under a great khan, but this tradition is now only a weak memory which has not evoked strong feelings of Kazakh unity for many centuries. On the other hand, the hordes which emerged from the breakup of Kazakh solidarity in the 16th century continued to play a social role well into the 19th century, and the Kazakh knows his horde and clan affiliation to this day. Both clans and hordes had a firm authority pattern; each horde had a khan, and at the head of each clan ruled a chief or beg.

61 631 Kazakh clans in their turn are composed of lineages, the lineages of kin villages, and the kin villages of families. All the units of Kazakh society are territorial units; the distribution of the hordes over the steppe has already been described. Within these hordes of the past,

[1] See Chapter 1, Regional History and Socio-cultural Setting.

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1]

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation.

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited baldly, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin.

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order of birth and descent.[3]

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common

[1] Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.
[2] Samoilovich, in Radenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 305 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Muksnov, 1947, pp. 1-28.
[3] Khorosin, 1899, pp. 41-42.

173 of Fortes, the native history which counterfeits history.[8]

173 186 The mythical history divides itself into two. There is first of all the grand myth, the universal myth, which according to one of their own men of letters, states that the great ancestor, Turk, had two sons, one named Tatar, and the other Mongol.[9] This myth further affirms the Turkic descent from a primal ancestor in the direct male line; this ancestor bears the eponym of the Turkic peoples generally, that is, from this ancestor they take their name. Second, one of his sons is Tatar, the other Mongol. Thus, the Mongols are assigned an eponymous ancestry in analogous fashion to their own: the Mongols have of course a parallel myth, but one which is more flattering to themselves. The slight to the Mongols in this myth is that they are made into a junior line to the Turkic line, even as the son is junior to his father. Descent is traced in Abulgazi's account even further back, to Noah by way of Japhet,[10] and thence integrated into the Biblical and Koranic genealogies: the Kazakh-Kirgiz are an Islamic people.

173 61 The second mythical tradition is specific to the Kirgis and Kazakhs, and supplies them as such with a

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[8] Fortes, Dynamics of Clanship, pp. xi and 26; cf. also Evans-Pritchard's concept of structural time in Nuer, 1940, 94 ff.

[9] Abulgazi Ba'adur Khan, ch. 2.

[10] Idem; cf. Richurin, I, 222 (280).

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common genealogy and origin. It is to this tradition that Kharusin and Aristov have reference when they assert the common origin of the Kirgis. Fortes in a recent statement has ably demonstrated the role of a genealogy as a kind of origin myth in a unilineal descent group, of which the Kazakh-Kirgis are one.[11] These genealogies supply a charter for the descent group, the charter supplying the foundation for Fortes' theory of the unilineal descent group as a corporate structure. To make this theory applicable to the Kazakh-Kirgis, as well as to other Asiatic pastoral societies, it need only be added that all descent lines, from the maximal, i.e., Turkdom as a whole, to lesser descent lines, such as the Kirgis, etc., and still lesser, such as clans, lineages within clans, and even extended families, all bear certain marks of corporate structure, such as the genealogical charter. However, a clarification is necessary: the mythical nature of the charter lies only in the larger corporate entities: the clan, the nation (i.e., the Kazakh), or the Turks as a whole. The lesser structures or descent groups, such as the lineage or the extended family, lack this mythological component. The clan, the nation, etc., being larger, require longer genealogies, whose more distant reaches are lost in ob-

[11] Fortes, Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, 25.

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security, and this obscurity which itself is part and parcel of the myth, supplies its needed extra-historical context, and removes it from the domain of verifiable human experience. The genealogy becomes mythical by its very scope: one must believe it to accept it, and one accepts the myth to the extent that one accepts membership in the group. The myth does not, in this sense, counterfeit history; rather, the myth transcends history and the genealogy in thus supplying the substance of the myth transcends history in its own fashion for it has also transcended itself.

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Turkic savants, such as Abulgasi, or the brilliant 19th century Kazakh scholar, Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, understood the working of the two types of temporal sequence and their mutual relations very well. Valikhanov demonstrates his knowledge of objective history and its interpretation, and his control of the meaning of the principle of descent. He describes the principle of descent as patrilineal, and seniority within a number of patrilineally related groups as governed by the principle of primogeniture. These principles have, both in his conception as well as in that which is proposed here "...a completely genealogical significance. For this reason, the mode of relationship between hordes, and lineages within a horde among themselves correspond to the law of blood brotherhood, and the relationship of

619 642 The structures larger than the clan must be set aside as of a different order than the smaller units.

619 642 178 The clan, too, can only be touched on briefly, because it faces two ways from a structural point of view. It is of moment to analyze it, albeit summarily, because it throws light on certain general features of consanguinity and affinity in the steppe society. But it was at the same time a social unit of a different order than the lineage, the village, or the family. By the 19th century, especially the latter part, it was moribund; it was rooted in the past, and was in a real sense the anvil upon which the structure of the state [565] was hammered. It was in fact a state in minuscule, with [567] a ruling stratum, the nobles, and subordinate strata, the commoners and slaves. There was a religious cleav- [795] age in slave-making; within Islam, the Kazakhs were Sunnite in belief; they took slaves among the Shiite Moslems,[69] Lamaist Kalmuks, and Christians.

619 ●61 182 Certain structural principles which the clan shares with other Kazakh descent groups have been discussed above; among them are its corporate character, the

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[69] Levchine, 330. While their religion was dominantly Islamic, specifically Sunnite, there were also important elements of Manichaeism and of shamanism among them. The latter doctrinary forces, however, corresponded to no pattern in their loyalties or enslavements. In general, Islam was a late and superficial feature of Kazakh religion and culture.

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182 principle of patrilineal descent, and the mode of inheritance which operates differentially, with certain rights of primogeniture, certain rights of ultimogeniture, and certain rights of equal inheritance. Other principles concern the clan alone, among them the genealogical charter which among other things was an expression of the myth of clan origin and also served to validate the membership of an individual in the clan. However, the lineage and the extended family participate in this principle of clan organization through the very architecture of the clan--its pyramidal form, to apply the imagery of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard. The clan was composed of differentially ranked lineages, and the lineages in turn of villages and of families, the highest rank being that of the line through the eldest sons.

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565 The clan was divided into noble and common strata, which marks it off from the lineage, and other lesser units. These strata have been aptly characterized as estates by Kharuzin[70] and distinguished by the Kazakhs, as by all steppe peoples as different colored patrilineal descent lines called sŭ̈k (literally, bone). These "bones" were the white or noble estate, and the black or common, and the principle whereby they were distinguished was identical with that of the Khalkha,

[70] Kharuzin, op. cit., col. 47.

613 tility, mortality, in-migration--all factors bearing on the survival of the group; and the limits within which variation was permitted were set by the mores of the group, that is, the disposition to accept certain variations on a principle, and to reject others. The lineage was, moreover, a more fluid entity than the family, which too had a biological as well as a moral basis for stability. Below, another variant on the lineage-exogamic structure will be cited, as reported for the Little Horde.

[80] The number of generations involved in any given statement regarding the rule of exogamy, and the extent of the lineage, may be influenced by what constitute propitious or magical numbers. For example, seven is a magical number among the Kazakhs and elsewhere both in Islam and in Asia generally.[83]

178 •61 The evidence of Izrastsov and Shmidt point to an entirely different principle of social structure, one that has been encountered among the Kalmuks. At some time toward the end of the 19th century, and fully underway during the 20th, the clan and lineage structure of the Kazakhs gave way to a system of named sibs, whereby the rule of prohibited degrees no longer functioned directly to define the unit of exogamy. As early as Izrastsov's day, the sib was the unit of exogamy, i.e., an

[83] Cf. Dingelstedt, 148: "Whoever does not know his ancestors to the seventh generation is a renegade," according to a Kazakh proverb.

[Great Horde]

178 exogamic unit comprising an entire body of agnatic kin,
●61 without reference to the number of removes. This picture is fully achieved, apparently by Shmidt's day, some fifty years later. The sib is a flat structure, without temporal depth; in it, one does not reckon generations to determine eligibility to marry or not. Also it contrasts sharply with the clan and lineage structure, first, by virtue of the different time-conceptions in the two, second, by the fact that the principle of the sib name was the concept operative in determination of exogamy, thus yielding different principles of exogamy generally. The sib is not composed of lineages as the clan is, and if such units are found, it may be because the process of transition from one structural mode to another has not been completed. The correlates of the transition process among the Kazakhs are the same as those for the Kalmuks and the Monguor: change in economy from herding to agriculture mixed with herding, and change in political-administrative organization of the society under Russian influence, comparable to the Chinese influence among the Monguor.

613 The Kazakh lineages were in turn divided into sub-lineages, which formed a series of units set off from other similar units through common interests over a period of time. Not only descent, but mutual protection, aid and support in social conflict, adjudication, or material want, held these sub-lineages together. Each had

Collective Kin Terms

601 A collective term for siblings (Middle Horde) is tuskan, literally, brother and sister; children are bala. The body of kin in whom an agnatic relationship is recognized is called tuyskat. For descendants, a number of distinctions are made. Any individual descendant is referred to as tukym; a close descendant is dsuragat; a collective for descendants is the binome urym butak.

•61 565 Among the Kazakhs generally, the term for a line of common descent through the father is sŏök, literally bone. Inasmuch as these descent lines were collaterally ranked, they served as the basis for the formation of the estates, noble and commoner. The principle upon which the descent lines were ranked was the birth order of the founders, and the senior line in rank achieved a different status, forming the aristocratic stratum, an aspect of the broader principle of differential inheritance and succession. The two estates, white bone and black bone, were distributed among all the hordes, and in all the clans of the hordes. The differentiation by estates is a horizontal cleavage in Kazakh society not to be found in Kara-Kirgiz society for example, but shared by the Kazakh with the Kalmuk society. In the Middle Horde, the clans were called ruu, and were divided into byr top, the component lineages; the principle of clan and lineage formation existed generally among the Kazakh hordes. In contrast to the horizontal cleavage

61 of the estates, the clan and lineage formation is a ver-
565 tical cleavage. A sŏbk might be identical with a byr
top in any given instance, but the principle upon which
it was based was different. The horizontal cleavage was
derived from the superposition of one layer of society
upon another, and was a means of building the social hier-
archy. The vertical cleavage could fit the system of a
social hierarchy or a polysegmentary system without a
supra-clan hierarchy equally well; an example of the
latter alternative, a polysegmentary clan-lineage forma-
tion without aristocratic and commoner estates is found
in the Kara-Kirgis social structure.

Appendix: Kazakh of the Altai

101 Two expeditions to the Nieman division of the Kazakhs
127 of the Middle Hordo were undertaken by a number of Turkic
177 specialists in the 1920's. The localities they concen-
trated on were in the extreme northeast corner of Kazakh-
stan, hence difficult of access, in rugged country and
were presumably chosen by the ethnographers Dukeikhan,
Baronov, Margulanov, and Rudenko, and the linguist Samoilo-
vich because here the degree of acculturation (such was
not their term) would be lowest of any part of the Kazakh
world. The account of the Altai Kazakhs has been separ-
ated from the rest of the data on the Kazakhs and put
into this appendix. A word is needed in answer to (1)
why the following data are incorporated at all, and